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THE SITUATION IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

*By Albert Mamatey, President of the National Slovak Society
and Slovak League of America*

The purpose of this article is to throw some light on a very difficult and complicated subject. It is a fact that comparatively few, even among well-educated Americans, know anything about the real situation in Austria-Hungary, and about the various races constituting the Hapsburg Monarchy.

And when educated Americans, often even college and university professors, have so little or so incorrect and superficial a knowledge of this subject, it is little wonder that the great masses of the American people fail to distinguish between the Slavs and Magyars, or between the Bohemians and Poles. This might be excusable, for these races are ruled by the same Emperor, though the racial differences between the Slavs and the "Hungarians," or, as we should say, *Magyars*, and Slavs are fundamental. But the trouble is that even people coming from entirely different parts of Europe "all look alike" to the average American; they are generally mixed and labelled together under the contemptuous titles of "Dagoes," or "Hunkies," or simply "foreigners."

This ignorance would not matter so much, if it did not breed not only indifference, but often downright contempt, brutality and race hatred against these "foreigners."

This indifference and contempt should be replaced by sympathy and active interest of native Americans towards their fellow-citizens of foreign birth, if America is to become the great homogeneous nation, the land of the free and the home of the brave from every quarter of the globe, for which we all hope and pray.

This sympathy and interest can be awakened only by a greater knowledge concerning these various races immi-

grating to this country, by a knowledge of their history, characteristics, and their past and present condition in their native lands; for these "foreigners," too, have had their glorious history, their patriotic struggles, and their great men of literature, art, science, and every line of human endeavor.

But this ignorance among Americans concerning the various "foreigners," and especially concerning the races coming here from Austria and Hungary is perhaps largely excusable, for until a few years ago there was hardly any literature on the subject in the English language, and what little there was, was very incorrect and misleading.

Even now this incorrect and misleading information forms the greater part of what is offered to the Americans and other English-speaking peoples who want to learn something about Austria-Hungary. Hungary especially has been put in such a light that the uninitiated would think that Hungary is a homogeneous "*Nation*," or, at least, a country whose people live in concord, whereas, as a matter of fact, it is a conglomeration of different races, or "nationalities," in conflict with the dominant Magyar race, or its government, under which they suffer.

During the last few years two or three good books have been published on this subject, among which may be mentioned especially the very thorough and excellent work, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, by "Scotus Viator" (R. W. Seton-Watson), published by Archibald Constable & Co. in London.

Besides these few books, a number of articles have appeared from time to time in some American and English periodicals. Some of these writers have written hastily and superficially, others have studied this subject pretty thoroughly, and have given a fair account of it, some others, again, have reproduced the information obtained from Austrian and Magyar official sources, which, for that very reason, was misleading and inaccurate, for it has been proved many a time that these "official sources," especially the Hungarian—or I should rather say Magyar "official statistics" are false and unreliable, being fabricated to suit

the interests of the dominant Magyar race. These Magyar official publications, if only studied with sufficient care, supply by far the most damning evidence against their authors, and it was their perusal that completed the conversion of the great Scotchman, "Scotus Viator" (R. W. Seton-Watson) to the cause of the non-Magyar "Nationalities" of Hungary, suffering under the Magyar oppression.

Scotus Viator, who set himself the task of writing a history of Austria-Hungary, approached the subject with the conventional views of a British admirer of the famous Louis Kossuth and the Magyars, but getting acquainted with the facts during his stay in Austria-Hungary, he gradually and reluctantly changed his opinion on almost every problem of Austrian and Hungarian politics. His subsequent sojourn in Austria and Hungary revealed to him still more the depths of that mad Chauvinism into which the Magyars have fallen, disregarding laws and humanity, in their efforts to "Magyarize" the Slavs and other non-Magyar nationalities. And now the former English admirer of Louis Kossuth and of the "Magyar ideals," stands before the world, not as the champion of Magyars, but as the defender of the oppressed races of Hungary. His great work, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, should be studied by all who are even ever so little interested in this subject; especially should it be studied by the professors of American universities and colleges, under whose guidance a new generation of Americans is being raised and educated. As future leaders and workers in commercial, industrial and professional fields, as future men of business and politics, these young Americans ought to be given accurate, reliable and truthful information concerning these races that jostle them here on every side and that are certainly playing an important part, as workmen, in the development of this country.

In this short article it would be impossible to give an adequate treatment of this broad and difficult subject. I must therefore limit myself to only a few important points. I shall concentrate my attention more upon the subject of the Slavonic races of *Hungary*, rather than of *Austria*, for the racial question in Austria is far less difficult and perhaps

also less important than the racial question in Hungary, for the reason that the Magyars have so long been successful in fooling the world with their supposed "love of liberty," and their "liberal laws," which, however, have been a dead letter almost since they were passed, or which have been flagrantly violated in the case of the Slavs and other non-Magyar races for a number of years.

I shall especially concentrate my attention in this article upon the *Slovaks*, and upon their oppressors, the *Magyars*. This will, however, throw light also on the conditions of the other non-Magyar races in Hungary, because the deplorable situation of the Slovaks may be regarded as typifying that of all the non-Magyar races in Hungary. But there is no doubt that the Slovaks stand most in need of help and sympathy.

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It is not easy for the uninitiated to understand the complicated relations of the Hapsburg dynasty and its peoples.

In the first place it should be borne in mind that there is really no "*Austrian Nation*," for Austria is made up of many different provinces, or *nations*, nearly every one of which has a distinct history of its own, and each of which has retained to the present day its own national individuality and characteristics. And the same thing may be said of Hungary.

Taking the empire as a whole, it must be described as very extensive. Next to Russia, it is the largest state in regard to superficial area in Europe. Its frontier line has a grand total of 5396 miles, and, including the annexed lands of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it has a complete area of about 264,204 square miles.

The population of Austria-Hungary, though not so dense as those of Great Britain, France, or Germany, has reached, according to the census of 1900, a grand total of forty-eight and one-half millions. But this population presents a very heterogeneous aspect. No other European state contains so many and so various nationalities as Austria-Hungary. The three principal races of Europe—the Latins, the Teutons, and

the Slavs—are all represented, to whom must be added about eight million Magyars (according to “Magyar Official statistics,” for their number is in reality much smaller) who are descendants of the Mongolian or Turanian race, about two million Jews, and about three-quarter million Gypsies, Armenians, and some other minor races.

The Slavonic race,—numbering in Austria some seventeen millions, and in Hungary some eight millions or more,—together about twenty-five millions, is numerically the principal race, but as it is divided into a number of peoples, differing from one another in language, religion, customs, and historical traditions, it does not possess a national unity, and this is the reason why Pan-Slavism, with which Germans have been trying to scare Europe and the world, has not developed, to the present time, into a formidable power. Of this we have seen abundant proofs in this great European war, where the Slavs of Austria and Hungary are fighting their brethren of Russia and Serbia.

The progressive and wide-awake Slavs are indeed very sorry that Pan-Slavism has not taken deeper root among the various groups of Slavs in Austria-Hungary, for if that were the case, there would have been entirely different developments and results in this war. More than half of the Austro-Hungarian army consisting of Slavs, it is easy to imagine what would have been the result if the Bohemian, Slovak, Croatian, Serbian, Ruthenian, Galician, Dalmatian, and Slovenian regiments of the Austrian army, all Slavs, were strongly imbued with the ideals of Pan-Slavism!! That would have simply put the whole Austro-Hungarian army out of commission. Germany would have been left alone, and we may say the war would have been ended long ago. For it must be admitted that the Austro-Hungarian Army is splendid, both as to its “human material” and its equipment. In fact, as to equipment, the Austrian Army, in some respects, beats the German war machine, for it was the Austrian big guns that smashed the strong Belgian and Russian forts. Those terrible “fort-smashers” were invented and manufactured in Austria. And what an irony of fate! They were invented and manu-

factured by Slavic military engineers! So, then, Pan-Slavism is still too weak among the Slavs of Austria-Hungary to be a factor in this war. And it is a pity that it is so, for, as I have said, if Pan-Slavism had been strong among all the Slavonic regiments of the Austrian army, it would have greatly changed the aspects of this terrible war; nay, it would have ended it long ago.

At the beginning of the war there were indeed some Slav regiments, especially Bohemian (Čech) regiments, that mutinied, but those mutinies were hastily quelled by "decimating" the men of those regiments. And to prevent the repetition of such mutinies, the Slavonic regiments were not left in their proper army divisions, but were either transferred to the western battle front, where they would not be fighting their Slavonic brethren, Russians and Serbians, or they were sandwiched between German and Magyar regiments and driven to the very first lines in battles,—and German regiments behind them, ready to mow down these Slavs if they wavered in fight against the Russians and Serbians. If it had not been for this expedient, the examples of the Slavonic mutineers would have, no doubt, spread among the Austro-Hungarian Army. So, again I say, it is a pity that Pan-Slavism is not stronger among the Slavs of Austria-Hungary!

It would seem that Pan-Slavism has been merely a kind of literary reciprocity among the Slavs of the different branches, reciprocity which was in no way connected with political unity. Some Pan-Slavists of the different Slav branches, of course, insisted also on political unity, under the leadership of Russia, but as we have seen, these ideas have not yet taken hold of the great masses of the Slavs. But this is not saying that Pan-Slavist ideas will not take roots in the hearts of the Slavs in the future. Experience may teach them that in unity there is strength.

If it had not been so terrible and so exceedingly sad, we Slavs in America would have smiled at the specious assertions of Germany, urged through the press—especially at the beginning of the war—that the reason Germany entered upon this war, was because it was a war for the main-

tenance of German "civilization" against the Slav "peril;" that it was a case of "Teuton vs. Slav."

Without going deeply into the merits of this question, it will be sufficient to point to Belgium to see the results of that boasted German "Kultur." And when we consider that more than half of the population of Austria-Hungary, and consequently also more than half, of the Austro-Hungarian Army consists of Slavs, also that quite a great number of Slavs, now belonging to the German Empire, must fight in the front lines of Germans against their brethren, Russians and Serbians, the cynicism, injustice and cruelty of the dictum—"Teuton vs. Slav" becomes apparent.

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As stated above, there is really no "Austrian" or "Hungarian," or "Austro-Hungarian" "people" or "nation." But there are "peoples" or "nations" that inhabit certain provinces or portions of the monarchy.

Whenever the monarch addresses his subjects collectively, as, for instance, on his accession to the throne, or on the outbreak of war, or in connection with some festival or bereavement, the form of address is always: "To my peoples," (in plural), and not: "To my people."

Some of these, for instance, the Bohemians, or more correctly, *Čechs* (who number about six and one-half millions, and with Moravia and Silesia, over nine millions), the *Slovaks* (about three millions of them), the *Poles* (of whom there are about four and one-half millions), the *Croatians* (who number about three millions), etc., have inhabited their lands since time immemorial; others have lived in their present home lands for many centuries. Some of them, or I should rather say, most of them, formed independent countries, or nations, in the past, of which independence, however, they were gradually deprived.

In Hungary proper, before the Magyar Chauvinism began to be realized, the different nationalities lived in peace with one another. There was no such reason for jealousy and strife and oppression and persecution as there is now, because in former times the official language of Hungary was

Latin, which was spoken by all: Magyars, Slovaks, Germans, etc., besides their own mother language. But gradually, through circumstances which could not be explained here, for lack of space, the Magyar aristocracy seized the government of the country for themselves and they have held it ever since. This aristocracy having the government of the country, with all its power, in their hands, naturally constituted an attraction for the nobles of the other—(i.e., the non-Magyar) nationalities, so they “Magyarzied” themselves, and blended with the Magyar aristocracy. Thus a certain privileged class was formed that arrogated to itself the rights to govern the country. And it may be said that for a very long time, this privileged, governing class did not care a bit for any “Racial,” or “National” questions or ideals; all it cared for was the *power*, which it seized and held.

In former times this privileged class, this “Magyar” aristocracy was no more “Magyar” than it was “Slovak,” or “Serbian,” or “German,” or “Croatian,” or “Roumanian,” or “Italian” (the present “Magyar” nobility are actually a racial mixture, descended from all of these and some other different “nationalities”). This privileged class then, this “Hungarian” aristocracy in those days, was really *cosmopolitan* in character, and not “*Magyar*.” It was only in the first part of last century that the “Magyar” nationalism, or we should rather say, *Chauvinism*, was implanted and developed in them.

This *Magyar* and *Magyarized* aristocratic clique, then, has always been “the powers that be” in Hungary and *not the people*. In spite of the so-called “liberalism” and “Parliamentarism” of which these Magyar magnates have been boasting both at home and abroad, there is really neither “*liberty*” nor “*parliament*” in Hungary, in the true sense of the words, except for the privileged class. *People* have really no voice in the Government of their Country. What kind of *liberty*, or what kind of *parliament* is it, in which more than half of the population of the country (the non-Magyars) are either prevented from being represented at all, or whose representation in the parliament is

reduced almost to nothing? And this is done by hook or crook, even by force of gendarmes and the soldiery.

I have no space here to describe the shameless electoral practice of Hungary, but would refer the reader to Scotus Viator's other book, *Corruption and Reform in Hungary*, in which the Magyar outrages are described at length and supported by documentary proofs.

In Hungary then, it is not the people that are supreme, but the Magyar aristocratic clique, and this "Magyar" aristocracy has ever exercised a great influence also on the state affairs of the other parts of the monarchy, i.e., on Austria, and on the destinies of the Hapsburg dynasty.

The government of Hungary has always been a series of strifes and compromises between this "Hungarian" aristocratic clique and the dynasty. It was one of these *strifes* that brought about the Magyar revolution of 1848-1849. And again, it was one of these *compromises*, that in 1867 established the so-called "Dualism" in the Hapsburg monarchy, in consequence of which the dynasty placed the Slavs of Austria-Hungary under the domination of Germans and Magyars, respectively, in spite of the fact that the Germans and Magyars are in the minority.

In Austria the conditions are bad enough, but in Hungary they are still worse. What the non-Magyar races have suffered from the wanton rule of the Magyar aristocratic clique that has all the actual political power of Hungary in its hands, would hardly be believed by Americans. It is nevertheless a fact.

* * *

The intolerable condition of the Slovaks and all other non-Magyars in Hungary will be realized after the perusal of the following *Memorandum* of the Slovak League of America, which was signed by the representatives of 20 Slovak organizations in America, with a membership of over 100,000, by the publishers and editors of 22 Slovak daily and weekly newspapers of this country, and by about 100 clergymen, Catholic and Protestant, who are active among these people in this country. This Memorandum was sent to the proper diplomatic and political

factors of the Allies (Russia, France and England), as well as to prominent newspapers of those countries. Quite a number of copies were sent out also here, in the United States, to prominent people. And a number of copies were sent also to the government circles and some influential papers in Germany and Austria-Hungary.

The Memorandum is prefaced with the following words:

“To secure to the Slovaks of Hungary the natural rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which have been denied them by the dynasty; to procure for them the opportunities to develop their national genius and aptitude as well as the natural resources of their native country;—to assure to them the realization of their national ideals and aspirations, which have been up to this time ruthlessly trampled upon by the tyrannical Magyar government; which rights, opportunities and aspirations are considered inalienable by the present age and are so highly prized that millions of lives are being sacrificed and rivers of blood are being shed to secure and to perpetuate them.

The Slovak League of America, a federation of the Slovak organizations and newspapers in the United States of America, addresses this appeal to *all just and open-minded nations*.”

The text of the memorandum reads as follows:

“MEMORANDUM OF THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA

ISSUED IN THE NAME OF THE AMERICAN SLOVAKS, CITIZENS AND
RESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES ON BEHALF
OF THE SLOVAKS OF HUNGARY

The Slovaks are the original inhabitants, the autochthons, of Hungary. They have inhabited Northern Hungary from its western to its eastern boundaries, in compact, united communities since time immemorial and had constituted there a state-forming, cultural element long before the advent of the so-called *Magyars*.

This nation, modest, good natured, peace-loving, also naturally talented and capable of culture and development, coöperating with the other nations of Hungary for over a thousand years, has always willingly sacrificed its share of lives and means. It has never rebelled nor revolted, but by its industrious labor it has created great economic values for the common country and has given to it eminent men in the political, military and ecclesiastical fields as well as in the domains of science and art.

The Slovak nation, in spite of the terrible oppression, under which it suffers, has a beautiful rich language, capable of the highest development, and has, under the circumstances, a fair literature; it has well preserved and pure morals, customs, pro-

verbs and an admirable popular art, nay, an historical past up to the times when its history blended with the history of the other nations of Hungary.

The Slovak ancient state and political organization of County Assemblies is up to this day the foundation of the Administrative Divisions of Hungary. The Slovak language and culture enjoyed a high position and influence as far back as the days of King St. Stephen, nearly a thousand years ago, which is proved by the inscriptions on the coronation insignia and on the royal mantle and purse.

For centuries the Slovaks have fought valiantly and faithfully, side by side with men of the other nationalities of Hungary, against their external enemies. During the time of the Mongolian invasion and mainly during the Turkish rule in Hungary, the land of the Slovaks alone remained unconquered, so that in those days all there was of independent Hungary was concentrated on Slovak territory.

The Slovak nation was considered as an equal and important, state-creative and state-maintaining factor of Hungary until the time when the idea of nationalism began to be realized.

Since the awakening of the Magyar chauvinistic nationalism, but especially before and during the Magyar revolution of 1848 and after the Compromise of 1867 between the Magyar aristocracy and the dynasty, the Slovaks began to suffer the pangs of denationalization, i.e., of Magyarization.

Already during the Magyar revolution the nobility and the revolutionary government began to practice nationalistic oppression on the Slovaks. The moderate demands of the Slovak memorandum of 1847, issued at St. Mikáš, were answered by the Magyar government with martial law and the gallows, so that the best sons of the Slovak nation resisted the revolution and even fought against it, or rather against their oppressors.

After the revolution the dynasty and the Magyar nobility became reconciled and the loyal Slovak nation, after the Compromise of 1867 was placed under the wanton rule of the aristocratic clique which through that compromise obtained all the actual political power in Hungary.

Since then the Magyar aristocratic governments began to carry into effect a systematical, unscrupulous and brutally tyrannical Magyarization. They have deprived the Slovaks of all their natural and human rights. By means of unjust, feudal election laws, but especially by a biased enforcement and flagrant violation of the same, they have almost totally excluded all the loyal Slovaks from the Parliament, they have entirely expelled the Slovak language from the administrative offices and the courts of justice, and have imposed upon the Slovaks in their own territory the exclusive use of the Magyar language, so that a Slovak can seek justice only through an interpreter; he does not receive in his own language any official papers, summons, decrees and verdicts of the courts, writs of executions, notices of sale, not even

the statements of his taxes. Even in criminal proceedings he has to sign a protocol in the Magyar language which he does not understand.

The Magyar governments not only did not put into effect Article 44 of the Laws of 1868, according to which they were to establish schools for the Slovaks out of the state funds, but they even threw themselves violently upon the Slovak educational institutions, erected and maintained by the Slovaks themselves, out of their own hard-earned money. The Magyar government closed the three existing Slovak colleges and the literary and scientific institution *Matica Slovenská* and confiscated their properties for no other reason than that it feared that these institutions would hinder the work of Magyarization, so that today the Slovak nation, consisting of nearly three million souls, living in the heart of Europe, has not even one secondary school, no high school or academy, nor schools for industrial, commercial or technical education, not to mention a college or university. Nay, even in the elementary schools the Slovak language is being driven out forcibly by the despotic Magyar law.

In the years of 1883–1886 the government went so far in its furious Magyarization, that, by the assistance of its officials, it went to work and, in a manner worthy of slave traders, shipped hundreds of Slovak children into Magyar regions for the purpose of Magyarization.

Since 1868 the government has given nothing, not even a penny, from the State Treasury to promote Slovak enterprises, whether educational, industrial or commercial, but all the resources of the country—consequently also those derived from the taxes paid by the Slovaks—were used exclusively for the benefit of the Magyars, so that the land of the Slovaks, which on account of its geographical location, extent, water powers and natural resources would seem to have been predestined to industrialization, has hardly any industries, and even its trades—once flourishing—are paralyzed; its agriculture is neglected, its rivers unregulated, its forests partly devastated and its mineral wealth lying idle, the result of which is the generally known poverty of the Slovak people, driving them to foreign countries to look for work and make a living. In America alone there are over 700,000 able-bodied and able-minded Slovaks working or ready to work.

This political, educational and economic oppression cannot be tolerated any longer. It is not only highly detrimental to the Slovak nation, but it is a blot upon the entire humanity of the present days.

The political crimes perpetrated upon the Slovaks and the other non-Magyar nations of Hungary must have a tendency to weaken the entire Kingdom of Hungary politically, morally and materially and thereby they must place the entire Hapsburg monarchy inevitably upon an inclined plane from which it can only slide down to become the prey of other powerful factors abroad. To us Slovaks, citizens and residents of the United States, such a re-

sult might be a matter of indifference, if we did not entertain the natural feelings of affection for our native Slovakland and sympathies for our poor, persecuted Slovak and Slavonic brethren and the other oppressed nations of Austria-Hungary. But we do cherish those feelings and therefore we, the Slovak citizens and residents of the United States, solemnly raise our warning voices crying for redress.

We are doing this for the further reason that recently in our old country, under the stress of Magyar intimidation, there appeared statements that could be utilized to deceive the public opinion concerning the real demands and political aspirations and convictions of the Slovak people.

We consider it our duty to refute the statements made by certain prominent Slovak men in Hungary, during the present war—statements which express a certain amount of satisfaction or acquiescence in the past and present political conditions of Hungary. Such statements we declare as unworthy of consideration, because they are contrary to the convictions and aspirations of the Slovak people. The Slovak people do not by any means subscribe to those statements, but consider them as the result of extreme terrorism on the part of the present Magyar government.

We demand that there be established and put in force a complete equality and liberty of all the nationalities of Austria-Hungary, without any privileges of one nationality over the others, or of one language over the others, or to the detriment of others, and for that reason, in the name of humanity and justice we present this petition to the proper political and diplomatic factors of Europe and the whole civilized world that, after this terrible war, when the destinies of the different nations in Europe will be considered and their future political formations determined, they take into consideration the wrongs committed upon the Slovak nation and make their continuance impossible in the future, and that the Slovak nation be considered as a factor having equal rights among other nations.

We demand for the Slovak nation a self-government and a freedom to work out its own destiny politically, educationally and economically.

The idea of national identity, the principle of self-destination and self-government of and by every nation is stirring the world, and today no statesman, no state organization can oppose it with impunity or without detrimental consequences to the entire community.

The Irish have already obtained their "Home Rule" from the powerful nation of Great Britain; the Magyars have their self-government and national rights secured; the Croats have their self-government; the Roumanians, relying upon the independent Kingdom of Roumania, are strenuously demanding their rights; the "Bohemian question" is shaking the foundations of Austria; the Poles of Galicia and the other nations of Austria are more or less independent along educational and economic lines; also Bos-

nia and Hercegovina has obtained its self-government; the Balkan nations shook off the Turkish rule to the tune of thundering cannon in a bloody war; even the population of Albania has obtained its independence: therefore, it behooves the Slovaks also to demand and to attain all those things which are necessary for the self-government, development and cultivation of their national life.

This memorandum is presented to the proper decisive political factors with the understanding that our demands, expressed herein generally, should be the basis for a further, detailed elaboration and establishment of such a form of government and constitution as will exclude and prevent in the future the repeating of fatal mistakes of politics and statesmanship, built on fictions, and which alone can lead to a permanent satisfaction of the nations, to progress of humanity and to universal peace."

That the American ideas of liberty and of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," are bearing fruit in the minds and hearts of Slovaks (and other European races) in this country, and thus helping to make this world a better place to live in, is best evidenced by the above Memorandum. And that the Slovaks (and other Slavs) in America do appreciate the liberty they enjoy here, is again evidenced by the "Dedication" of that "Memorandum," in which they say:

"Enjoying the blessings of political and civil liberty, under the beneficent provisions of the United States Constitution, which blessings were freely bestowed upon us by the generosity of the American people, who, by admitting us to their land, opened wide to us the doors of opportunity and allowed us to share with them the fruits of the labors of their fore-fathers, dearly bought with their fortunes and their lives, so that we can pursue happiness, the great inalienable right of every man, better in this land of our adoption than in the land of our birth;

We, the citizens and residents of the United States of Slovak birth, can the more keenly feel the plight of our brethren across the seas and hear the agonizing cries of those millions of our kin who are still groaning under the oppression of inhuman laws and the tyranny of a selfish privileged class, and—

Well knowing that the American heart always beats in sympathy with the oppressed nations of the earth and always has been willing to lend to such oppressed peoples its moral and even material support,

The Slovak League of America, a federation of the Slovak organizations and newspapers of this country dedicates this Memorandum to the *American People*."

* * *

Such a condition of affairs as up to this time has prevailed in Europe, and especially in Austria-Hungary, cannot last. This terrible war, now raging on the blood-soaked European battlefields, is bound to make great changes in the political constellation of Europe. The ideas that 139 years ago "brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," these ideas have spread over the world, and by this time have taken root also in the hearts of the various European peoples, and even if this terrible war should not result in the breaking of the yoke and oppression under which many of the European peoples suffer, the time is nevertheless coming when no race shall be allowed to tyrannize over another race, nor a privileged, aristocratic class to dominate and oppress the people, but when liberty and "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" shall be established everywhere.